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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on tribal minorities (American Indians) of the Peruvian tropical forest from the point of view of the political circumstances and the general administrative conditions of the country. In 1968 the revolutionary military government initiated a series of structural reforms which aimed at transforming Peru. This article poses and attempts to answer certain questions which anthropology has generally dealt with on the basis of an analysis of inter-ethnic relations, emphasizing in its methods the aspects of crosscultural contact, but neglecting the national context and its political factors. It is assumed that the answers to these questions must also be derived from an analysis which recognizes that inter-ethnic relations are also class relations. Therefore, such factors as the socio-economic situation of the native society within the national framework, and its differential access or lack of access to the means of control of political and decision-making power, necessarily enter into the analysis. It is in this perspective that the subject is examined, since an analysis of the micro-situation attains its full significance only insofar as it is linked to the total context. Contents include (1) historical notes; (2) outline of the present situation; (3) geographic distribution of the tribal groups; (4) a tentative diagnosis; and (4) present measures. (FF)

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Stefano Varese

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU

Copenhagen 1972

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The objective of this article is to focus on the subject of the tribal minorities of the Peruvian tropical forest from the point of view of the political circumstances and the general administrative conditions of Perú. It is a matter of knowledge that the revolutionary military government headed by President Juan Velasco Alvarado initiated in 1968 a series of structural reforms which aim at transforming this country. My intention is to pose and to attempt to answer certain questions which anthropology has generally dealt with on the basis of an analysis of inter-ethnic relations, emphasizing in its methods the aspects of cross-cultural contact, but neglecting the national context and its political factors. In my opinion, the answers to these questions must also be derived from an analysis which recognizes that inter-ethnic relations are also class relations. Therefore, such factors as the socio-economic situation of the native society within the national framework, and its differential access or lack of access to the means of control of political and decision-making power necessarily enter into my analysis. It is in this perspective that I wish to examine this subject, convinced that an analysis of the micro-situation attains its full significance only insofar as it is linked to the total context.

An old proverb says that it is hard to be a prophet in one's own country. When this country is political, the prophecy runs the risk of being a utopian dream. The concluding part of this article should be read with this reservation in mind.

First a point of method, which in turn derives from a theoretical premise which should be explained: that the analysis of tribal minorities can not be isolated from the analysis of the total society which surrounds them and which imposes structural conditions of a social, economic, political and cultural nature. I have previously pointed out (Varese 1971a, 1971b) that the system of inter-ethnic relations in the

tropical forest involves not only the two poles which interact directly: the tribal society and the white society or segments of it, but that these two poles, as parts of a network, cannot be extrapolated and analyzed in isolation without running the risk of fragmenting the structure and being unable to comprehend the total phenomenon. The majority of the native societies of the tropical forest are not historical and synchronic islands, so that attempting to concentrate our study on the local group or the micro-region to the exclusion of a "macro-historical" and "macro-social" analysis, will lead us to false conclusions. To what extent can we say, for example, that in the Peruvian tropical forest there exist societies which are isolated from the nation-state which includes them politically, socially and economically, and from the system of international relations which includes even this nation? To what extent does not or has not even the tribal group which is most isolated from the means of communication of the surrounding society felt the effects of national and international social and economic events?

The social and cultural events which are taking place today among the tribal societies east of the Andes should be considered as the result, in turn dynamic, of a process which has continually involved and continues to involve a chain of social, economic and political constellations which extends to Lima, the nerve centre of Peruvian society, and even farther, to the centres of international trade. These international centres have during the course of history changed their location: from Spain in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries to England in the 19th century, and to the United States in the 20th century. This spatial shift of the economic centre has given rise to a shift of economic interests, so that there has been, in dialectical succession, more or less pressure on one or another sector of the total society and thus on the jungle and its inhabitants. The rubber "boom" which occurred toward the end of the last century is perhaps the most eloquent example of this. From 1870 to 1915, the Peruvian tropical forest was transformed into one of the world's principal sources of crude rubber, which was collected almost exclusively by the native inhabitants of the areas surrounding the Amazon, Ucayali, Marañón, and Madre de Dios Rivers and their principal tributaries. Around 1910, rubber produced by the English in Borneo, Ceylon and India, began to take the place of Peruvian rubber.

In spite of its short duration, the Peruvian rubber "boom" had a fundamental repercussion on the inhabitants of the tropical forest, anthropologically as well as biologically. A few figures will serve

to illustrate. During the first decade of the twentieth century, 80% of the native population of the Putumayo River was annihilated. At the same time, of the 28,000 rubber workers of the Loreto jungle, approximately 22,000 belonged to native groups (Varese 1968a: 14-15). The human losses produced by mistreatment, epidemics and forced labour were replaced by raids during which members of tribal societies were captured.

An economic factor of world importance such as rubber, with all its political and social ramifications and implications, exercised a decisive influence on the lives of many of the tribal societies of the tropical forest. Today this phenomenon is being repeated on a different scale with the extraction of wood and animal products. According to official figures, which by their very nature are much lower than the real figures, more than US $ 700,000 worth of hides and living animals were exported in 1969 from the Peruvian tropical forest (figures from the General Administration of Forests, Hunting and Lands of the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture). This type of extraction is fundamentally carried out by members of tribal groups working through the "barter-credit" system ("enganche"), in which raw materials and work are payed for with goods or credit for goods.

Accordingly we may assert that the present situation of tribal minorities should be seen, historically and synchronically, as the result of a more or less direct participation in the process of growth and development of the capitalist world.

This preliminary theoretical and methodological consideration gives rise to another: that it is impossible to separate the problem of tribal minorities from the problem of social classes. Anthropological analysis has in general neglected this aspect and has not emphasized the fact that relations between social groups which differ in language, culture, social organization, economy, reciprocal identity, etc., cannot exclusively be studied on the basis of a social and cultural analysis which considers the tribal group as a passive receptor of modifications derived from changes imposed by the centres of control and domination. These relations presuppose a difference in access to the means of production and therefore to power. The overwhelming majority of the tribal groups of the tropical forest are in a state of permanent interaction with different sectors of white society: lumbermen, rubber gatherers, traders, or settlers. This interaction should be understood as a relation between human groups

(classes which are also ethnic groups) in which one of the groups can appropriate the "labour" of the other. And in this case, by "labour" we mean something very broad, which can range from the means of production and natural resources to the marketing system and the related use of transportation, of the "barter-credit" system, and of high interest rates for goods advanced. The inter-ethnic relations of the tropical forest are at the same time class relations, and both kinds of relations are a part of a network or system of relations which can only be understood at the level of the total society, which in turn cannot be considered in itself, but only as a part of a system of constellations of countries which are dominated by economic centres.

There is an abundance of examples. The timid attempts at agrarian reform initiated in Perú under the governments of Presidents Manuel Prado and Fernando Belaunde Terry did not aim at the elimination of the coastal and Andean latifundios (large estates), but promoted, ideologically and technically, the colonization of the tropical forest areas. The colonization of the tropical forest became synonymous with agrarian reform. This policy obviously entailed various advantages for the small ruling sector of the country, not the least of which was the fact that without revolutionizing the landholding system in the rest of the country it was nevertheless possible to hold out to the marginal peasantry the hope of acquiring a plot of land. The results of this procedure are especially notable in two fields. On the ideological plane, the image was fostered of the rich and fertile forest, uninhabited and open to men of initiative. This image is a part of the widespread system of national stereotypes and allows the forest to be visualized as a land of conquest, a kind of internal colony which may or may not attract the attention of the politically dominant sector, according to the national and international economic interests of the moment. In the socio-economic field, Perú initiated a series of improvements of the highway infrastructure, notably the so-called "peripheral highway", the costs of which were not justified by the benefits received, since the land brought under cultivation was of poor quality and therefore did not permit the planned concentration of population. As a result of this political procedure in the '5os and '6os, large movements of population took place from the Andes and to some extent from the coast to the high forest areas, which in many cases were already inhabited by native

groups. More than 23% of the population of the tropical forest areas of the Departments of Pasco, Junín and Cuzco, according to the 1961 census, were immigrants from other parts of the country. In these three areas numerous groups of Amuesha, Campa and Machiguenga Indians were living, who were forced to withdraw from their territory, as the State had no declared policy of protecting their rights. Thus at the extreme ends of this chain of economic and political events we see on the one hand native societies in the involuntary role of a marginal and dominated populace, and on the other hand a political option which in the last analysis is subject not only to national, but also to international economic conditions.

HISTORICAL NOTES

At this time I think it proper to introduce the historical dimension to my analysis, since the present situation of the tribal minorities is more than anything else the result of a process of submission to the dialectics of national and international politics and economics. In adopting this perspective, I do not mean a history of events, but a very general outline of the conditions which during the course of centuries have permitted a certain social and economic structure in the Peruvian tropical forest.

A) PENETRATION AND SETTLEMENT

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Spain was not particularly interested in the tropical forest. Spanish soldiers, missionaries, "encomenderos" (feudal lords) and explorers penetrated east of the Andes through the mountain passes and settled along the great navigable rivers, thus displacing the native population which itself was settled on strips of rich alluvial land, appropriate for slash-and-burn cultivation. This phenomenon has been studied with precision by D. Lathrap (1968; 1971), who has demonstrated with archeological evidence that before the arrival of the Spanish, the banks of the navigable rivers were densely populated by native societies basing their economy on the cultivation of the alluvial soil, fishing and the hunting of mammals, which in the tropical forests are only abundant in the vicinity of watercourses. Alluvial soil, the fertility of which is renewed by yearly floods and which therefore permits the stable settlement and a certain degree of concentration of an agricultural population, constitutes a mere 3% of the total area of the Peruvian jungle (Meggers 1960; see the soil evaluation studies

of the O.N.E.R.N.: the Peruvian National Office of Natural Resources Evaluation).

Thus the mere occupation of these riverside areas by Europeans led to ethnic displacements and resettlements which had repercussions on the ecological, economic and social equilibrium of the tribal societies affected. In part, these societies abandoned their riverine settlements and withdrew towards the sources of the rivers or towards the higher areas between the rivers, both of which were poorer in soil and fauna, so that the result was a worsening of their economic, technological, social and cultural situation. In order to understand correctly the present condition of most of the native societies of the Peruvian tropical forest, one must realize that all of them, to a greater or less extent, directly or indirectly, have undergone this process of ecological deterioration and marginalization. This process was aggravated in the 18th century when missionary activities intensified and in some cases developed into veritable mobilizations of native populations, such as those of the Piros and the Cunibos of the Urubamba, Tambo and Upper Ucayali Rivers, organized by the Franciscans and the Jesuits at the end of the 17th century. Immediately after this intensification, the tribal groups reacted and organized their response: sometimes violent, sometimes involving a cultural retreat to nativistic and messianic positions (Varese 1968b: passim), which have cropped up at regular intervals up to the present time.

B) THE REPUBLIC

In 1824, Simón Bolívar promulgated a decree which de facto dissolved the indigenous communities of the Andes, in that it permitted any member of the community to sell the communal land which he held in usufruct. This measure was the result of an ill-conceived liberalism. Communal land was sold for small amounts of money by Indians who thus contributed to the formation of many of the large estates. Shortly thereafter, the dispossessed peasants began looking for land in the tropical forest, initiating a long process of penetration and settlement of Andean Indians in the highland forest - precisely in those areas, marginal with respect to the alluvial riverside areas, where many tribal groups had already concentrated and were surviving.

The penetration of Andean Indians into the highland forest was no novelty: the so-called "vertical economy" of the valleys of the Eastern Andes is probably a phenomenon of pre-Hispanic origin (Murra et al. 1966). What was new was the permanent rather than the seasonal settlement of the peasant and the population pressure which began to

be felt in these areas. This pressure increased to the extent to which the formation and consolidation of large estates in the Andes and near the coast took place at the expense of the peasant communities.

During the terms of office of presidents such as Ramón Castilla, in the middle of the 19th century, and Nicolás de Piérola, at the end of the century, the expansion of the internal frontier was reactivated and "the mystique of the conquest of the forest" began to grow - a mystique which was revived a century later by President F. Belaúnde. These were also the years when the coffee plantations of the highland forest were formed, the years when the State handed over a large part of the area of the Upper Perené River to the Peruvian Corporation, whose concession included lands inhabited by numerous groups of Amuesha and Campa Indians. Basically, the tribal societies were faced with two types of threat: the invasion of whites with the accompanying seizure of native lands, and the demand for native labour by the new farms and by rubber gatherers. Both threats induced a series of social, economic and cultural changes in the local groups, the members of which were grafted onto a system of relations of dependence, and were either transformed into wage-earning agricultural labourers or moved into more isolated regions.

To sum up, starting in the second half of the 19th century, two types of economic phenomenon occurred in the Peruvian tropical forest, the origin of which was related to the national and international situation, and which had a radical repercussion on the situation of the tribal groups. On the one hand, the farming system was established and consolidated; on the other hand the internal frontier was extended through the demand for rubber. Both these phenomena deserve a broader study than the few words which I am able to devote to them in this article. Nevertheless, I should like to expand on the type of frontier which these socio-economic processes impose, since both of them continue to exist and presuppose a distinct kind of stimulus for the native societies.

The expansion of the internal frontier imposed by the extraction of rubber, and presently imposed by the production of wood, hides and animals, cannot be considered as a demographic frontier, but rather is an economic frontier, with repercussions on the types of settlement and dispersion of the tribal and rural groups of the tropical forest. Extractive expansion, unlike the establishment of farms, does not aim specifically at the occupation of native territory for the permanent

and decisive installation of human nuclei. The frontier which corresponds to this expansion is almost always economic and not demographic. Many of the areas which were exploited 2o or 5o years ago have now regained their character of "virgin" forest. When the resources are exhausted, the front of expansion withdraws and completely disappears. The same thing is happening at present with the exploitation of wood: when all the timber-yielding trees of an area are cut, the little demographic frontier consisting of the foreman and his labourers retreats and disappears. Only in some cases, when the area of extraction is situated near a highway or has good river communications with a center of population, can it be taken over by agriculture or cattle-raising, in which case a permanent demographic frontier is established.

Extractive activities have not produced a working class, and even less a social class with class consciousness. They have contributed and are contributing to the detribalization of native groups through a process of proletarization and ethnic disintegration or dissolution which furnishes the labour market with a cheap source of labour, highly mobile from the geographic point of view, subject to temporary work based on contracts, the "barter-credit" system or day labour, and who in many cases abandon land which is suitable for agriculture.

On the contrary, the farm system, the typical form in the highland forest, sets up a permanent demographic, economic, ideological and cultural frontier. In this case, the white society appropriates the native territory, and if possible also native labour through detribalization. The fundamental difference between this situation and that occurring under the extractive process is that here the tribal groups have almost no possibility of keeping their territory. In all the forest areas where the farm system has been consolidated (such as the central forest, the eastern forest of Cuzco, and the Valley of the Huallaga), the native groups have been detribalized and absorbed as agricultural labourers, or have retreated to marginal areas abandoning their land to the expansion of the white society. In some cases, a few local native groups have kept pockets of land within regions totally occupied by settlers, but the land which they have succeeded in saving is so reduced in area that their entire economic and social system has had to be modified and adapted to a situation of dependence on and symbiosis with the settlers.

OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

I shall now attempt to analyze the situation of the tribal groups in terms of the structured system of social and economic interrelations which they have with the white society. More than 70% of these minorities maintain permanent relations of interaction with members of the rest of the country (see table). 35% of the groups maintain sporadic relations; but directly or indirectly, and to a greater or lesser degree, all of the native societies are linked to the Peruvian economic system. In fact, even the figure of 35% for groups which have no direct relations with white society must be interpreted, since this percentage is calculated on the basis of entire ethno-linguistic groups, which means that while some local groups (communities) remain relatively isolated, others of the same ethno-linguistic group are linked to some sector of white society. An extreme case which can serve to illustrate is that of the Mayoruna of the area of the Blanco and Yaquerena Rivers, who in spite of the fact that they have rejected all forms of contact in recent years, are actually in a sense under the tutelage of the Linguistic Institute of Verano through two of its linguists, who are subjecting them to a system of technological dependence by creating needs which they cannot satisfy with their own resources.

A) SOME DEFINITIONS

The various ethnic groups of the Peruvian tropical forest present a great variety of social and cultural situations, with respect both to their traditional structures as well as the social and economic changes, modifications and restructuring which is produced by contact and interaction with various sectors of white society. This circumstance makes it difficult to set up a simplified classification, a difficulty which is increased by the almost total absence of research in the field. In this sense, even terms of common use in professional literature, such as "tribe", should be questioned as to their applicability. Let us take an example.

The Campa Indians represent a population of approximately 45,000 persons who occupy a vast area of the central forest (almost 100,000 km^2), including quite different ecological zones and various economic micro-regions with very distinct social compositions of mestizo population and with different degrees of highway communication with the rest of the country. The area occupied by the Campas is neither continuous nor compact: other tribal groups and other non-native human groups are interspersed within it, ranging from small settlers from

the Andes to large estates, passing through a whole scale of local merchants, woodcutters and missionary organisations. In this case, the use of the expression "the Campa tribe" would lead to false interpretations, since the accepted meaning of the concept of the tribe alludes, at least, to two characteristics: a certain cultural and social homogeneity and a certain territorial continuity. The historical process which we have briefly referred to above has modified both these characteristics in the case of almost all the groups of the highland forest.

I think it is more correct then, to speak of a Campa ethno-linguistic group, which in linguistic terms contains dialect areas, and in social, cultural and economic terms can be subdivided into sectors, above all according to the degree of interaction which each sector (or micro-region) maintains with the white society. There are Campa groups who have motor boats and are organized in pre-cooperative forms of agricultural organization; and there are Campa who still wear clothes made out of tree bark. Both extremes can be found within the same ethno-linguistic group.

We can supplement the expression "ethno-linguistic group" with the term "native community". By this I mean the stable socio-economic unit, bound to a specific territory, with a type of settlement which can be either nuclear or dispersed, which recognize itself as a community and which is distinguished from neighbouring socio-economic units, native or not. In accordance with this purely operational definition of the native community, we can say that within each ethno-linguistic group there can exist from two or three up to hundreds of communities (or local groups). In a preliminary survey made in 1970 in the area of the Upper Marañón, I detected more than 150 Aguaruna communities (Varese, 1970). On the other hand, we know that some groups of the lower forest total no more than two or three communities, each consisting of a few score families (Huitoto; Arabela).

B) SOCIOLOGICAL PANORAMA

According to the Peruvian National Office of Statistics and Census (Boletín de análisis demográfico), there were 1,307,156 non-native inhabitants in the Peruvian tropical forest in 1970. My estimate of the native population yields the approximate figure of 220,850 persons, belonging to more than 50 ethno-linguistic groups. This means that the forest has a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants, of which 85% are non-natives and 14% are members of tribal groups. The inhabitants of the tropical forest represent 11% of the total population of Perú, and its natives 1.5%. According to the 1965 census, the forest occupies more than 57% of the territory of Perú, with a population density of 2.07

persons per square kilometer. Nevertheless, still unofficial figures of the National Planning Institute indicate that the agricultural land has a population density of 4oo persons per square kilometer. This can be explained by the fact that land suitable for agriculture is extremely scarce. According to the studies of the National Office of Natural Resource Evaluation (ONERN 1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966a, 1966b, 1967a, 1967b, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1968e, 197oa, 197ob), only 13% of the area of the tropical forest can be considered suitable for permanent agriculture. Of the remainder, 28% of the total presents serious limitations for agriculture, 19% is suitable for forestry, and the remaining 4o% consists of land which is unsuitable for both agriculture and forestry, consisting mostly of swampland.

These ecological factors explain to a great extent the apparent contradiction between the vast areas of unoccupied land in the tropical forest and the excessive concentration of the rural population in certain areas, especially those situated near the communication infrastructure and centres of population. Likewise one can understand the reason behind the constant pressure which the white population has exercised on the land of the native communities, since these communities almost always settled on the richest land.

1. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRIBAL GROUPS

If one looks at a map of the distribution of ethno-linguistic groups, one is impressed by the fact that the whole area of the Upper and Middle Huallaga has no native population. This area is one of those which is most densely populated by mestizos: the 1961 census (1965: T.I.,6) gives a density of up to 8.5 inhabitants per square kilometer for the province of Lamas, as against a density of o.7 inhabitants per square kilometer for other areas of the tropical forest (Department of Loreto). This great density of non-native rural population corresponds historically to a very early Spanish penetration. The local groups of Jibitos, Cholón and Panatahua Indians were assimilated or liquidated during the first period of colonization. In the area of the Lower Huallaga, on the other hand, there is one of the most numerous ethno-linguistic groups of the tropical forest: the Lamista Quechuas, probably derived from the Chankas of the Ayacuho area of the Andes, who settled in this region in the pre-Columbian era and adapted themselves to the new ecological environment.

The area of greatest concentration of tribal population is the central and southern forest. The Shipibo, Amuesha, Campa, Piro and

Distribution of Tribal Groups
in the Peruvian tropical forest.

Approximate locations established by S. Varese
on the basis of Pesce, H.: Mapa de Selvícolas.

1970

Machiguenga groups total approximately 8o,ooo persons, almost 4o% of the total native population. These areas are those which are subject to the greatest population pressure from immigrants from the Andes who look for land to settle on in a spontaneous manner, without the assistance of the State. The 1961 census (T.II, p.III) indicates that in the forest areas of the Departments of Pasco, Junín and Cuzco 25%, 22% and 2o% respectively of the population consisted of immigrants from other parts of the country. This phenomenon is related to the opening of highways for penetration and the concentration of property in the hands of a few landowners in other rural areas of Perú. The penetration of peasants from the Andes and the coast into what are essentially native areas of the central and southern forest, is a process which started more than a century ago and which corresponds, as I have indicated, to the expansion and the consolidation of the latifundio system in the Andes and on the coast. Moreover, this immigration increased towards the end of the last century, due to the formation of coffee plantations which needed a certain amount of stable labour and a large influx of seasonal workers for the harvests. In many cases this labour could not be obtained from the local native communities, who even expressed in a violent manner their opposition to the process of territorial occupation and the recruitment of labourers by the plantations. In 1914 the Campa Indians of the Pichis River expelled all the settlers; the government had to send troops to gain control of the situation (Varese 1968b: 1o8).

In other cases the tribal groups retreated before the expansion of the internal frontier, and the land which they abandoned was occupied by farms or by peasants who worked on these farms as day-labourers. Some native communities remained (as they do today, now that the process is being repeated) in pockets within a structure of land distribution in which the large estate, the medium-sized farm, the wood and rubber concession, the small farm and the minifundio established themselves as the forms of landholding which exerted pressure upon the native communities.

The extreme north-eastern part of the tropical forest, the area included between the Upper Marañón and its tributaries, the Santiago, the Morona, the Pastaza and the Tigre, contains a notable concentration of tribal population: approximately 36,ooo, or 16% of the native total, divided into six ethno-linguistic groups. For the last five years, the upper Marañón has been declared an area of colonization. Up to the present time, colonization carried out under an agreement between the Ministries of War and Agriculture has resulted in the awarding of

family-sized plots to 400 families of peasants from the Andes and the coast. Before this colonization is completed, a total of 600 families will have been settled.

What are the implications of this colonization, from the point of view of the Aguaruna and Huambiza groups directly affected by the arrival of settlers? Inasmuch as this is a case of planned colonization, state control over the location and type of settlement ought to hinder the repetition of conflict situations and of the territorial and socio-economic marginalization of the native population. Nevertheless, the operational weakness of the administration, in addition to the limited perception and consciousness of the problems of tribal groups on the part of local officials, has already given rise to some social conflicts in the inter-ethnic relations. The new agricultural system proclaimed by the present government does not recognize large landholding and regulates the size of medium-sized and smaller ones, so that this area will not witness the formation of large estates. In addition, on the basis of a law promulgated in 1957, the natives have been able to obtain, in areas where this is most urgent, the delimitation of some territorial reservations in order to avoid complete despoliation at the hands of unofficial squatters. (For further details, see Varese, 1970).

The extreme southern part of the tropical forest is one of the most interesting areas from a strictly ethnological point of view. Between the Department of Madre de Dios and the three provinces of the Department of Cuzco which include forest areas (La Convención, Paucartambo and Quispicanchi), there are 9 ethno-linguistic groups totalling approximately 17,000 persons, or 17% of the total tribal population. The rivers of the Department of Madre de Dios are the least explored rivers of the Peruvian tropical forest and still quarter some relatively isolated small native groups.

The fact that this area has been preserved as a kind of sanctuary for tribal groups is in part due to the fact that there has been no immigration from the Andes or the coast. Madre de Dios, with a population density of 0.2 persons per square kilometer, is the least populated department in Perú. However, this isolation will not last long.

2. A TENTATIVE DIAGNOSIS

Summing up the demographic and ethnological figures for the various areas of the Peruvian tropical forest, we can attempt a short diagnosis. Assuming the correctness of the 1961 census figures and my estimate of tribal population, we can say that of the 1,500,000

inhabitants of the tropical forest, 220,000 are natives, belonging to more than 50 different ethno-linguistic groups. The two population sectors (natives and non-natives) constitute the poles of a system of interrelations. They differ as to ethnic, cultural and linguistic composition, and as to their relative potential access to the means of production in the broadest sense of the word, and to local and national political power. On the one hand we have the various local groups or native communities which culturally and linguistically belong to larger units which we have defined as ethno-linguistic groups; on the other hand we have the various sectors of the local white society in a constellation of relations of interdependency.

The entire population of the forest can be divided according to a classification which takes into account the occupation and thus the possibility of access to the means of production and to power. We do not possess sufficient data to attempt a classification by classes or segments of classes.

The first rough, tentative subdivision which we can set up, is the following:

a) Members of the business sector of the white society, resident in the few urban areas: Pucallpa, Iquitos, Tarapoto, Yurimaguas, Lamas etc. This business sector has access to credit and directly or indirectly to local power through institutional and informal channels. They are the owners, the partners or the administrators of the sawmills, the rice mills, the large shops, the commercial and transport networks (through the regatón, the merchant who travels along the rivers), the small factories, etc. In this category are also included cattle raisers and the owners of large estates, timber concessionaires (who are often the owners of sawmills and large estates), and hide and animal traders.

b) The riverside settler population, composed of small and medium-sized farmers with a limited access to credit. In this category, which from the native point of view could be defined as that of intermediary agents, we find the regatones, the owners of motor boats, the local outfitters and enlisters of labour (who in turn are outfitters for the businessmen), timber and rubber foremen and hunters and trappers. In many cases these activities are not separated. - A regatón sells commodities, enlists Indians into the "barter-credit" system by trading his goods for their harvests, wood, hides and animals; and at the same time owns a little field or

farm which allows him to obtain some credit.

c) The native societies. As we have indicated, it is extremely difficult in this sphere to make a valid generalization. In some cases, rare to be sure, there can be seen within the local group or community the beginnings of social stratification: small merchants, the bilingual teacher who has a small monthly budget, owners of motor boats who carry on riverine transportation. What is certain is that the native society, as far as access to local economic and political power is concerned, is always situated at the bottom of the asymmetric pyramid. In the lower forest, near the means of riverine communication, the native community tends to be disintegrated and atomized by the demand for labour on the part of the extractive economy; while in the highland forest, communities tend to cohere and consolidate around their territory which they attempt to defend from invasion and despoliation.

d) The communicators of the white society. This category includes all the state officials of the different agencies (Health, Agriculture, Education, Justice, Bank, Army, Police, etc.) and the missionaries of the various creeds. A large part of this sector, on the local level, is involved with regional economic and political power. Thus we dare say that a large part of the failures of the political measures taken in Lima which do not succeed, should be attributed to this sector. In this sense the racist prejudices and ethnocentric attitudes which characterize the relations of this sector to the native communities could well be rationalizations, if one may use the term, corresponding to other motives: involvements with local economic power and the defence of social and economic privileges.

The relationships between the four large groups which we have classified should be studied in the future by focussing on the system of interrelations established by their differential access to the means of production: land, the natural resources, the marketing channels and credit, as well as by their differential access to local and national political power. These structural elements cannot be separated. If for example we consider exclusively the access to land, we should find that a certain percentage of the native communities has no great problem here. Nevertheless, these same communities who have their own land are in debt to a series of "bosses" or "outfitters" for whom they

cut trees or trap animals. Either they lose all the profit from their harvests in riverine or highway transportation, or finally they mortgage all their harvests to a merchant for a few shotguns and some metres of cloth. Thus the different elements which are active in the system of relations between the tribal societies and the white society, whether social, economic or cultural (as in the case of the ethnocentric prejudices of state officials), should be considered as a total unit: some of them exist as products of the others. We cannot understand an abuse of authority against a native individual or group, and thus we can not know how to fight it, if we attempt to explain it solely on the legitimate cultural basis of an ethnocentric prejudice. This is just one aspect of the problem; it is fundamental, but it should be analyzed and classified as a part of the total structure.

PRESENT MEASURES

At the present time, a massive and radical programme of agrarian reform is being carried out in Perú. The Agrarian Reform Law was promulgated on 24th June 1969 with the principal objective of any agrarian reform - to give the land to those who cultivate it. By October of the following year, 2,708,084 hectares had been expropriated, and by the end of 1972, 4,283,354 hectares will have been awarded to more than 150,000 peasant families. The Peruvian agrarian reform provides for small farms, and for medium-sized farms under the joint participation and management of the workers. It sets up in an absolutely preferential manner the cooperativization of the ex-haciendas as well as of the peasant communities of the Andes and the coast. The highland forest, down to approximately 700 metres above sea level, is included within the jurisdiction of the Agrarian Reform Law. For the lower forest, on the other hand, the government has drawn up a bill which was published in mid-1971, and which is now the object of suggestions and comments from interested sectors. Likewise, the Office of Peasant Communities of the Ministry of Agriculture, through its special Bureau of Native Communities, has presented to the government a Forest Native Communities Bill. These bills are complementary with respect to the tribal groups; they establish the legal existence and recognize the juridical personality of these societies (which were not recognized by previous legislation), and guarantee their territorial rights, protecting common and collective property and assuring technical assistance and credits from the State. This legislation extends to those tribal groups which reside in the highland forest but are not included within the jurisdiction of the Agrarian Reform Law.

The Forest Native Communities Bill is basically a legal instrument which attempts to make the rights of the native minorities compatible with the general needs of the country through the support of their local organisations, or communities, by means of their representative institutionalization in the eyes of the State. To this effect the Bill provides for the organization of tribal groups into federative units with stable economic and social bases to be attained through state assistance in the form of credits and technical and administrative aid for the attainment of their rights.

Inasmuch as, according to the government itself, "the nature of the Agrarian Reform does not consist in a simple distribution of land, but rather in a transfer of economic, social and political power from the hands of restricted group to the mass of the peasantry" (Avance 197o:1), the measures taken with respect to the tribal communities cannot be limited to empty words about their rights. There is a clear realization that the objective ought to be the radical restructuring of the economic and power system, and that to attain this goal not only an economic and social transformation, but also a profound cultural transformation, is necessary. To attain these ends, however, it is necessary for the State to assume effective control over the system of socio-economic relations which we have sketched above. Obviously this is no easy task, if one considers problems such as the effective and administrative distance of the areas of tribal occupation, the economic limitations of the State in implementing a policy of action embracing all the areas, and the slight motivation of local officials to modify their attitudes and detach themselves from the sources of local power.

It is obvious that the rupture of the local system of dependency of the tribal groups will not be able to attain its objectives unless these groups are at the same time organized and politicized. The effectiveness of the process should be guaranteed by means of a mobilization and an effective participation of the members of the native communities. In the last analysis, it is the natives themselves who are called upon to destroy the old system and build a new one. In this respect, I disagree completely with isolationist protective schemes which seem to harbour an ethnocentric ideology which considers tribal groups incompetent and limited in their possibilites. By this I do not mean that we should put all the native groups of the tropical forest into one boat and solemnly declare that they are capable of facing their situation in modern, political, "Western" terms. I realize perfectly well that there is a variety of situations, that there are specific cases and priorities; but

at the same time, I object to the isolationist artifice which is totally fictitious and untenable in the immediate future, an artifice which satisfies our "purist ethnographic vocation" more than it does the legitimate rights of tribal minorities. On this point I want to be quite clear: in the tropical forest of Perú there can be no geographic or social isolation for any group. The remaining isolated tribal communities could at any moment fall into the hands of bosses and be exploited or liquidated within a few years.

On the other hand, the experience of countries such as Brazil has demonstrated that the artifice of the natives park or reservation, in which the native society is maintained in antiseptic social and cultural conditions, does not offer sufficient guarantees of stability. A simple decree, in the so-called national interest, can destroy the results of years of effort.

This is being proven in the case of the Xingú Park. But the most dramatic point is that the isolationist solution renders the native society incapable of facing the rest of the country on a favorable competitive footing.

The political organization and enfranchisement of the tribal communities, within a legal framework which will guarantee their territorial and cultural rights, as well as their rights of self-government and self-administration, seems to be a possible option in the present situation in Perú. For this line of action, anthropological and sociological studies of the tribal communities, and in general any research which rebounds to the benefit of the native societies, broadening their consciousness of their situation and problems, attains an influence and a significance more profound than the mere scientific vocation; it is that type of knowledge for action which is demanded of science with ever greater insistence.

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1963 Uctubamba-Bagua
1964 Medio Urubamba
1965 Kcosñipata-Alto Madre de Dios-Manú
1966a Pachitea
1966b Perené
1967a Camisea
1967b Yurimaguas
1968a Tocache-Campanilla
1968b Alto Mayo
1968c Bajo Mayo-Huallaga Central
1968d Chiriyacu-Nieva
1968e Tambo-Grande Pajonal
197oa Villa Rica-Pachitea
197ob Santiago-Morena

ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS OF THE PERUVIAN TROPICAL FOREST

(Stefano Varese)
November, 1971

Linguistic Families	Ethno-Linguistic groups	Estimated Population	Location by Rivers	ECONOMY: Subsistence Agriculture	Hunting and Fishing	Commercial Agriculture	Cattle Raising	Commercial Exploitation of Natural Resources: Wood	Rubber	Hides	Degree of Interaction with Whites: a.	b.	c.
I JIVARO	1 Aguaruna	18,000	Upper Marañón and Tributaries - Province of Bagua - Upper Potro - Mayo - Apaga	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	2 Huambisa	5,000	Morona - Santiago	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	
	3 Achual	5,000	Morona - Pastaza - Tigre (Cabeceras)	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD	X	X	
	4 Jívaro	3,000	Corrientes	X	X					X	X	X	
II CANDOA	5 Candoshi (Shapra)	5,200	Morona - Pastaza and Tributaries	X	X					X	X		
	6 Murato	UD	Upper Pastaza - Morona										
III CAHUAPANA	7 Chayahuite	6,000	Huallaga - Shanusi - Cahuapana	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
	8 Jebero	3,000	Yurimaguas	X	X	X						X	
	9 Paranapura	UD	-----										
	10 Balsapuertinos	UD	-----										

a. Incipient, Sporadic Contacts; b. Permanent Relationships; c. Ethnic Disintegration;
UD: Undetermined

Linguistic Families	Ethno-Linguistic groups	Est. Pop.	Location by Rivers	Sub. Agr.	Hu. Fi.	Com. Ag.	Ca.	Comm. Expl. of Natural Resources W.	R.	H.	Degree of Interaction with Whites a.	b.	c.
IV HUITOTO	11 Ocaina	5oo	Amazonas - Putamayo Pebas Area	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	X
	12 Bora	1,5oo	Ampiyacu - Yaguasyacu	X	X			X	X	X		X	X
	13 Huitoto - Muinane	6oo	Amazon - Putamayo Pebas Ares	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	X
	14 Huitoto - Murui	4oo	Mouth of the Nanay - Napo	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	X
V ARAWAK													
a) Pre-Andean Arawak	15 Amuesha	5,ooo	Pozuzo - Palcazu - Chuchurras	X	X	X	X	X				X	
	16 Campa Asháninca		Apurimac - Ene - Perené	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	17 Campa Nomat-siguenga		Mazamari - Anapati	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	18 Machiguenga	12,ooo	Upper Urubama Madre de Dios	X	X	X	UD	X	UD	X		X	
	19 Piro	5,ooo	Urubamba - Madre de Dios	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	
	2o Amarakaeri	1,5oo	Colorado - Madre de Dios	X	X						X		
b) Arawan Arawak	21 Culina	1,5oo	Yurua - Purús	X	X				X	X		X	
VI PANO	22 Cashibo	2,ooo	Aguaytía - S. Alejandro	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	
	23 Shipibo - Conibo	2o,ooo	Central Ucayali and Tributaries	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
	24 Amahuaca	4,ooo	Curanja - Inuya - Sepahua	X	X					X		X	
	25 Sharanahua	1,ooo	Purús	X	X					X		X	
	26 Cashinahua	2,ooo	Curanja	X	X			UD	UD	X	X	X	
	27 Capanahua	2,ooo	Buncuya - Tapiche	X	X					X		X	

Linguistic Families	Ethno-Linguistic groups	Est. Pop.	Location by Rivers	Sub. Agr.	Hu. Fi.	Com. Ag.	Ca.	Comm. Appl. of Natural Resources W.	R.	H.	Degree of Interaction with Whites a.	b.	c.
VI PANO (cont.)	28 Yaminahua	2,000	Curiuja Basin - Piedras	X	X					X		X	
	29 Mayoruna	1,500	Yaqaerena - Blanco	X	X						X		
	30 Marinahua	1,500	Curanja	X	X					X		X	
	31 Remo	UD	-----	X	X								
	32 Pishquibo	UD	Pisqui	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	
	33 Chandinahua	UD	Curanja	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
	34 Mastanahua	1,000	Curanja	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
VII TUCANO	35 Piojé	300	-----	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD	X	X	
	36 Angoteros	200	Upper Napo	X	X	UD	UD	UD	DD	UD	X	X	
	37 Orejón-Koto	500	Napo- Algodón - Ampicuya	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
VIII TUPI-GUARANI	38 Cocama-Cocamilla	20,000	Bajo Ucayali - Marañón - Huallaga	X	X	X	UD	X		X		X	X
IX ZAPARO	39 Arabela (incl. Vacacocha)	300	Arabela	X	X							X	X
	40 Iquito	600	Upper Nanay	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	X
	41 Andoa	50	Pastaza	X	X							X	
X PEBA-YAGUA	42 Yagua	3,000	Amazon (from the Nanay to the Atacuari)	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD	X		X	
XI QUECHUA (Río Napo)	43 Quechua (Río Napo)	10,000	Napo - Bajo Tigre	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
	44 Lamistas	15,000	Lamas - Bajo Huallaga	X	X	X	X	UD	UD	UD		X	

Linguistic Families	Ethno-Linguistic groups	Est. Pop.	Location by Rivers	Sub. Agr.	Hu. Fi.	Com. Ag.	Ca.	Comm. Expl. of Natural Resources W.	R.	H.	Degree of Interaction with Whites a.	b.	c.
XII SHIMACU	45 Urarina	5,000	Chambira	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD		X	
XIII	46 Ticuna	5,000	Cushillococha	X	X	X		X		X		X	
	47 Chamicuro	UD	-----	X	X	UD	UD	UD	UD	UD			
	48 Huachipaire	1,500	Upper Madre de Dios	X	X						X		
	49 Arasaire	600	Madre de Dios	X	X						X		
	50 Tuyuneiri	400	Upper Madre de Dios	X	X						X		
	51 Maneteneiri	200	-----	X	X						X		
	52 Sirineiri	400	-----	X	X						X		
	53 Huarayo	2,100	-----	X	X			X	UD	X		X	
	54 Iñapari	500	-----								X		
		22o,85o		1oo%	1oo%	36%	14%	29%	1o%	44%	35%	73%	13%
						18% UD	31% UD	31% UD	34% UD	27% UD			
						46% UI	55% UI	4o% UI	56% UI	29% UI			

UD: Undetermined; UI: Uninformed